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JOURNAL  
OF  
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOSEPH VOSE  
APRIL-JULY, 1776

EDITED BY  
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

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*Home of Joseph Vose at Milton, Mass.*

*From a photograph taken in 1912.*

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# JOURNAL.

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MR. HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, having been called upon, spoke as follows : —

MR. PRESIDENT : I wish to communicate to the Society a Journal, covering the period from the twenty-sixth of April to the second of July, 1776, kept by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Vose of Milton, Massachusetts, on the expedition sent by way of the Hudson River and Lake Champlain into Canada to reinforce the troops that had been sent there in 1775 under the command of General Montgomery and General Thomas.

This Journal is in the form of a letter written by Colonel Vose to his wife at Milton, and evidently is, as its opening sentence declares, “ A Memorandum Drew from y<sup>e</sup> minutes I took Daily.” It was probably written in camp some time after the occurrences mentioned took place, as, for example, under the date of the twenty-third of May, in speaking of the cartel after the affair at the Cedars, he says, “ the Same cartel was afterwards Carried to Congress, but they Comply’d not with it.” This, too, may account for some slight inaccuracies of dates, — as when he places the death of General Thomas <sup>1</sup> on the twenty-eighth of May instead of on the second of June, although, even in this case, he may be merely noting the information brought to his camp.

Joseph Vose came of an old New-England family and was born on the twenty-sixth of November, 1738,<sup>2</sup> on the farm in Milton

<sup>1</sup> The date 2 June is given by J. Winsor, *Reader’s Handbook of the American Revolution* (1899), p. 91, and J. P. Baxter, *Journal of Lieut. W. Digby*, p. 9 *note* ; but W. T. R. Saffell, *Records of the Revolutionary War* (1858), p. 436, gives 30 May, while F. S. Drake, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xxxiii. 383, gives 5 June.

<sup>2</sup> The Milton Town Records give the date of Colonel Vose’s birth as 26 November, 1738, and *Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati* (1890), p. 493, give it as 7 December, 1739. In the Milton Church Records his baptism is found under date of 3 December, 1738. The Milton Town Records state that he died 22 May, 1816, aged 76.

that had belonged to his family for three quarters of a century. At the age of twenty-two, he married Sarah, daughter of Josiah Howe.

Colonel Vose was a farmer both before and after the Revolution, and at all times a public-spirited citizen interested in town affairs; and with a deep interest in the military, he played a prominent part in the army during that stirring period. Previous to the outbreak of hostilities, he had been a Colonel of the district militia and a Major in Heath's Suffolk Regiment.<sup>1</sup> On the twentieth of May, 1775, he had taken a party of sixty men in boats to the light-house in Boston Harbor, which they burned, and from which they carried off a field-piece, the swivel and the lamps. Early in 1776, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the 24th Continental Infantry of which John Groaton of Roxbury was Colonel,<sup>2</sup> and after the evacuation of Boston, he went with his regiment to New York and thence up the Hudson and into Canada. In 1777, he was made Colonel of the 1st Massachusetts Regiment and joined the army under Washington in New Jersey, participating in the battle of Monmouth. He served with Sullivan in his Rhode Island Campaign in 1778, took part in the Siege of Yorktown, and at the close of the war was made Brigadier-General by brevet. He was one of the original members of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati. He died in Milton on the twenty-second of May, 1816.

The expedition of which this Journal gives a partial sketch, was sent from New York in the latter part of April, 1776, and consisted of four regiments, the 8th, 15th, 24th and 25th Continental Infantry, commanded by Colonels Enoch Poor of New Hampshire, and John Paterson, John Groaton and William Bond of Massachusetts, respectively, with General William Thompson of Pennsylvania as Commander of the expedition until its junction with the forces already in Canada.<sup>3</sup> The men suffered hardships tramping in wet weather through the wilderness, but were in good spirits,

<sup>1</sup> Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, p. 493.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ibid.*; also Heitman's Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution.

<sup>3</sup> Under dates of 15, 21, and 26 April, 1776, Heath wrote:

Four American regiments, viz. Poor's, Patterson's, Groaton's, and Bond's, were ordered for Canada; Gen. Thompson was to command them. Gen. Thomas had been, some time before, sent from Boston to command in Canada. . . . The regiments destined for Canada, sailed for Albany. . . . Six more regiments were ordered for Canada, viz. two from the Pennsylvania line, two from the New-Jersey, and two from the New-Hampshire (Memoirs, 1798, p. 45).

and anxious to join the Army and take part in the storming of Quebec. Their ardor received a check upon their arrival, on the eighth of May, at Sorel, where they heard of the defeat at Quebec and met returning troops, many of them sick with smallpox. After camping there for about two weeks, orders were received to proceed up the St. Lawrence to Montreal and have the men inoculated for smallpox. On this march they fell in with the delegates from the Continental Congress and heard of the disastrous skirmish at the Cedars. Colonel Vose remained several days in Montreal, many of his command sick from their inoculation, and for a time his men were the only American troops in the hostile city, and were daily expecting an uprising of the inhabitants. From Montreal they took part in forays towards the Cedars, to Three Rivers and to Chambly, and thence, with all the other American troops in Canada, began that masterly retreat, with the enemy close upon them, up the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain to Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Lieutenant-Colonel Vose had an important command in the rear, and in his Journal he gives many details of his experiences on land and water.

At the beginning of this Journal, the writer speaks of a previous one giving an account of his trip from Cambridge to New York, and he closes it with a promise of another giving more details of the movement of our troops in Canada; but this is the only Diary or paper<sup>1</sup> of Joseph Vose that is known to be in existence. If this distinguished officer did write other Journals it is unfortunate that they have been lost, and it is hoped that the publication of this one will induce all who are of the Vose blood to search their old family papers for other writings of Joseph Vose.

<sup>1</sup> Under date of 13 December, 1901, the Rev. James Gardiner Vose, D.D., of Providence, Rhode Island, the grandson of Col. Joseph Vose and a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, writes:—

I regret very much to say that there is no portrait of my Grandfather, nor any diary or Journal of his in existence. He died in 1816, and no effort seems to have been made by any of his children to preserve papers which he must have left.

The diary now printed is in the possession of a collateral branch of the family, which may easily account for the fact that the Rev. Dr. Vose had never heard of its existence. It belongs to Mrs. William Brewster of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a great grand-daughter of Elijah Vose of Milton, brother of Joseph Vose, and himself an officer in the Revolutionary Army and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiments of which his brother Joseph was in command.



## JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOSEPH VOSE.

- th  
20.  
April.
- A Memorandum Drew from y<sup>e</sup> Minutes I took Daily. 1776.  
To MRS. VOSE. — Mam. from Cambridge to N. York, I sent  
you home a Memorandum. — March 30th, then arriv'd att  
N. York, which time we fortified y<sup>e</sup> Governor's Isleland &  
the City. Spent the time very Agreeably, while we was  
there; Set Sail for Albany, with Greateon's Regiment —  
Patterson's, Bond's & poor's,<sup>1</sup> under the Command of Gen<sup>l</sup>  
Thomson, with our Regiments all Hearty & well & in good  
Spirits, we lived well upon our Passage went on Shore got  
Butter Egg's, & every thing we wanted. I had a fine Cabbin  
to lodge in & the best Voyage I ever went by water.
- 25 Arriv'd at Albany the City was much bigger than I expected.  
we got some Necessaries for the Reg<sup>t</sup>.
26. Set out for half-moon,<sup>2</sup> there fell a Heavy rain in the morn-  
ing, which made it bad Travelling, the Land from Albany to  
half moon is exceeding Good,

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<sup>1</sup> The officers mentioned in this Journal may all be identified and the terms of their service found by referring to F. B. Heitman's Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution (Washington, 1893).

John Greateon, afterwards Brigadier-General, was a resident of Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he was born 10 March, 1741, and died 16 December, 1783. He is buried in the cemetery on the corner of Washington and Eustis Streets, Boston.

John Paterson was a resident of Lenox and was Colonel of the Berkshire regiment which started for Boston upon hearing the news of the battle of Lexington. He graduated from Yale in 1762 and was by profession a lawyer. After the war he removed to Binghampton, New York, and was Chief-Justice of the County Court. He died 19 July, 1808 (Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, Boston, 1890, p. 381).

William Bond, born 17 February, 1733-34, was of the Watertown family of that name. He died in camp near Ticonderoga 31 August, 1776 (Bond's Genealogies and History of Watertown, i. 66).

Enoch Poor was a prominent merchant of Exeter, New Hampshire, and served with distinction as Colonel and Brigadier-General. He died in camp at Hackensack, New Jersey, 8 or 9 September, 1780.

<sup>2</sup> Half Moon is now Waterford on the Hudson, and was undoubtedly named for Henry Hudson's ship. There were no bridges over the Hudson or Mohawk rivers at that time, but there was a ferry at Half Moon, and another on the Mohawk five miles above Cohoes Falls (Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, i. 41).



27. take our baggage out of y<sup>e</sup> Battoes, as it went from Albany to half moon in Battoes, we arrived att Stillwater that Night where we took up two Deserters of Col<sup>o</sup> Poors Reg<sup>t</sup> & sent them back to Albany. Nothing Extrodiary happen'd to Day.

April  
th  
28.

Sunday Morning, Clear & Pleaseant, we then put our baggage into Battoes, & March'd for Saratoga where we arrived before Night. we took our baggage out of the Battoes, & carried it across the Carrying-Place about one mild, then Carried it about 3 mild by Water to fort Miller the land from Still Water to Fort Miller very good, Some part of the Regim<sup>t</sup>. tarry att Saratoga, & some part at fort Miller, Col<sup>o</sup> Greateon & my self tarry with Gel<sup>l</sup> Schuyler. Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler has got a very Grand farm, & Elegant Buildings, 2 mild from Saratoga.

29.

Set out for Fort Edward, past fort miller where there was grand Saw mills, Arrived att fort Edward Before Night, Rained very hard Soon after we got there, Nothing Extraordinary happened to Day. only that several of our men fired att Deer & Did not kill them. ——— we viewed the Old fort, & thought it was grand once

30.

Marched for fort George, & Schyenesborough,<sup>1</sup> take our baggage out of the Battoes, those men that are the least able to Stand fatigue we send with y<sup>e</sup> Waggon & baggage to fort George, or fort W<sup>m</sup> Henry. the rest with Col<sup>o</sup> Greateon & my self, with 4 Days. Provision upon our Backs, worse travilling men never travailed, this Day we see where Gen<sup>l</sup> Putnam was taken by the Indians, & tied up to a tree,<sup>2</sup> It now Rains exceeding hard & we have no Shelter, But the Woods. this march proceed's from the Neglect of not having battoes built.

May.  
th  
1

We marched for Schyenesborough where our men took Cold lying on the Ground, & no Shelter the travailing still remains exceeding bad, Some Places water is very high, where

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<sup>1</sup> Now Whitehall, at the head of the South Bay of Lake Champlain.

<sup>2</sup> In the skirmish of Abercrombie's troops in August, 1758, with the French and Indians, Major Israel Putnam was taken prisoner and tied to a tree, and was about to be burned alive when released by a French officer. The spot was about a mile west of Fort Anne and just south of Whitehall (*Ibid.* i. 140; and Fiske's *New France and New England*, 1902, chapter x.).

we have to wade, we Arrive att Schyenesborough Before Night where we had good Shelter. Cap<sup>t</sup> Bent<sup>1</sup> & myself went to a tavern about a Mild from the Reg<sup>t</sup> where we were grandly entertained the men Still Remain in high Spirits athou Such a Fatigue through y<sup>e</sup> woods, Just before Night 2 of Cap<sup>t</sup>. William's<sup>2</sup> men got into an old Canoe above the falls their not minding they were so near the falls they got affrighted, & both Jump<sup>t</sup> out, one got in again & we could not come att them to give 'em any Assistance the Canoe Driving Down the falls with one that had hold of the Stearn of y<sup>e</sup> Canoe, it heave him 10 feet high & Broke the Canoe when it passed the falls one of them we found hanging to a bush almost Dead. but revived, & the other never was Found, though there was great Search made from. his Name that was Drowned was howe, Brother to James Howe the Baker at Roxbury.<sup>3</sup>

May.  
th  
2d.

this Morning Clear & Pleasant, we Set out from Schyenesborough & Sail to Ticonderoga along the South-Bay. & Arrived at 12 o the clock, our Reg<sup>t</sup> then went into the old french Barracks, our baggage is not Come from fort George this afternoon we go out, & view the Ground where y<sup>e</sup> Battle was fought 1758 & find the mens bones where the battle was fought, my Self & some of y<sup>e</sup> Officers goes Farther over to the Carrying Place where Lord. Howe<sup>4</sup> landed with 20. thou-

<sup>1</sup> William Bent, Captain in the 24th Continental Infantry.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Payson Williams, son of Jeremiah Williams of Roxbury, was a Captain in the same regiment and died in service, 25 May, 1777 (Drake's *The Town of Roxbury*, 1878, pp. 31, 398).

<sup>3</sup> James Howe kept a bakeshop near the corner of the present Washington and Warren Streets and was a prominent man in Roxbury at the time of the Revolution (*Ibid.* pp. 92, 206, 280, 381). He was probably the son of James Howe (born in 1713) of Roxbury, weaver, and Jane Meroth of Dorchester, who were married 31 July, 1740, and had two sons: (i) James, born 2 November, 1746, died 1798, and (ii) David, born 1 March, 1757. The latter was probably the David How, or David Howe, Jr., who was a member of E. P. Williams's Company (Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution, viii. 331, 384).

<sup>4</sup> George Augustus, Viscount Howe, elder brother of Admiral Richard, Viscount Howe and of General Sir William Howe. He was a soldier of great ability and had been sent over by Pitt as second in command to General Abercrombie. He was killed in a battle with the French 6 July, 1758.

sand men, & had not marched, but a little way before he was Killed, & we saw, the Place, we Still wait for our Baggage to come over lake George, & Does not arrive to Night

3.

this morning Clear & Pleasent, our Baggage is Just arrived, we Cart it over the Carrying Place to our Battoes We Drew here 10 days Provisions, for to Carry us to St Johns; here I bought 2 Barrels of beer to Drink on the lakes. We got ready to set off. att 4 o'Clock, & Sailed to Crown Point, that Night. Where we Landed, & the Soldiers went into y<sup>e</sup> old Barracks, the Officers got into the tavern.

th  
4.

this morning we rise by times, went viewed the old fort, that was Burnt Down I think it was the Grandest fort that ever was built in America, we put our bagg<sup>as</sup> on board the Battoes y<sup>e</sup> men in high Spirits & are afraid Quebec will be taken before we get there. we now Pursue our Voyage for St. Johns, we arrive att Split Rock<sup>1</sup> the wind being so Strong against us & the Sea. Rough that we are Obligated to go on shore, & tarry that Night.

th  
5

Sunday. — the Wind Still Continues Contrary, & look's Promising for a Storm. We order'd the men to Clear a Spot of Ground as it was a Wilderness, So that the Rev. Mr. Barnum<sup>2</sup> could Preach a Sermon to us. he Preached from Proverbs, Chap<sup>t</sup> 18. — & Vers. 10. — the Wind Still Continues Contray & we are Obligated to tarry here this Night.

th  
6.

this morning cold, & Snows fast the Wind Contrary, we Still tarry, one of our men. brought me 2 Partridges, which I Stew'd & had a fine Dinner, the Storm Still Increases, I have got good Beer & Brandy, So that we faired very well, though our, Situation was bad. Nothing remarkable to Day

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<sup>1</sup> Split Rock is about thirty miles north of Crown Point on Lake Champlain.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Caleb Barnum was the seventh minister of the First Congregational Church at Taunton, Massachusetts, where he was installed 2 February, 1769. (See Emery's Ministry of Taunton, ii. 1, for a sketch and portrait of him.) He graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1757, and received the honorary degree of A.M. from Harvard in 1768. He was Chaplain of Col. Groaton's Regiment, and through the fatigue and exposure of this expedition he contracted a disease from which he died at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, 23 August, 1776, in the fortieth year of his age.

th  
7.

this morning Clear & Calm, Snow ankle, High. Set out very early on our passage this Day we rowed, 60 miles to the Isle of Mott,<sup>1</sup> y<sup>e</sup> men Still in good Spirits we were troubled to Keep the men from rowing beyond their Strength. the land very good on each side y<sup>e</sup> lake as we past it, we tarried that Night on the Isle of Mott.

th  
8

this morning Cloudy the Wind fair, & a fine Gale, we had good Sails to the Battoes & they Sailed very fast we arrived at St<sup>t</sup> Johns,<sup>2</sup> 12 o'Clock, there made a Short Stop & took in Pilots to go to Shambly,<sup>3</sup> we went about 6 miles from St<sup>t</sup> Johns, there all the men got out of the Battoes except 6 men in each Boat to Go Down the Rapid. I went Down in one of the Battoes as being use to handling an oar the Rapid exceeding Swift, we arrived att Shambly 4 o Clock & there the Rain Came on very fast hindered our Proceeding that Night we tarry here this Night, Col. Greateon &, myself. with M<sup>r</sup> Barnum tarried in a french House, the Soldiers went into Barraks.

th  
9.

This morning I began to think of Some bad conduct. Somewhere. we Set early for Sorell, fair Wind & very Pleasant river. Setled thick on both sides, had not sailed far before we saw the women Standing in the water, up to their knees, washing, which I thought very odd, but it was y<sup>e</sup> Custom among the People though the weather was very cold for the Season. the men Still in good Spirits, & many wagers laid Between Officers, we should arrive to Quebec Before Saturday Night, that Day Met a number of Yorkers from Quebec, they said, their times were out Which Still caus'd me to Suspect that matters were conducted bad at Quebec. we arriv'd att Sorell about Sun Down. & as we came to the Shore, we receiv'd the news of our People's Defeat att. Quebec. & their retreat towards us. which gave us a great Shock Indeed, & orders not to proceed any farther. As our Reg<sup>t</sup> Sat out from Albany 1 Day Before the rest, & our men being so Resolute to get forward that they gaind one Day of the rest of y<sup>e</sup> Regiments extrodiay att. 12 o Clock that

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<sup>1</sup> Isle La Motte, in Lake Champlain.

<sup>2</sup> St. John's is on the west bank of the Richelieu or Sorel River, Canada.

<sup>3</sup> Chambly, Canada.













Night we heard 2 Swiffles fire, which Alarm'd us, but we soon found that it was the Return of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Stevens<sup>1</sup> from the 3 Rivers. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Stevens with his Company of Artillery went from Cambridge with 2, — 13 inch Mortars, & went as far into Canada as 3<sup>th</sup> Rivers, & their Received orders to go back to Sorell.

th  
10.

A Battoe Arrived this morning, which Confirms the news of the Retreat, we hear that Gen<sup>l</sup> Thomas is bringing up the Rear of the Army, & here we be in this Situation, & have Strict orders not to go Forward.

th  
11.

Battoe comes in, the men bring news that the Army want boats to Retreat with y<sup>e</sup> Sick. we Immediately sent 10 Boats which was all y<sup>e</sup> boats we had then went 50 men under y<sup>e</sup> Command of Cap. Bent in those boats they went about 30 miles below 3<sup>th</sup> Rivers. then they put themselves into 2 Battoes, & Delivered the rest to the sick, as they were afraid of y<sup>e</sup> small-Pox.

Sundr.  
th  
12.

the battoes Still Keep coming in Load'd with men Sick of the Small Pox. Such a Sunday I never saw, for to see the french Attend at mass, & very Strict in their Religion, all which seem'd to be Superstitious to us

th  
13.

Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thomas not arrived we cant learn. whether he Determines to come to Sorell or Fortify Point d. Shambo.<sup>2</sup> 40 miles this Side of Quebec.

th  
14

Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thomson with Gen<sup>l</sup>. Arnold arrive here from Montreal. Nothing extreme to Day.

th  
15

2 Vessels come from Montreal loaded with Provisions & Artillery Stores.

th  
16

We hear this Day that Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thos. will soon arrive.

th  
17

Order's to day from Gen<sup>l</sup>. Arnold for y<sup>e</sup> Surgeon to Innoculate y<sup>e</sup> men, to my Great Surprise.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ebenezer Stevens, of the New York Artillery, was commissioned Captain of Artillery 6 December, 1775, and later became Major and Lieutenant-Colonel (Saffell's Records of the Revolutionary War, 1894, third edition, p. 155).

<sup>2</sup> Deschambault, about forty miles from Quebec.

th  
18 this morning Cloudy, & very Cold for y<sup>e</sup> Season Our Provision is very Short, brought to half an allowance.

th  
19 Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thomas arrives, Steady & Calm he tells me he was Sorry that he had been so Deceiv'd in the Situation of our Army he likewise Informs me that they had a Council of War. Before Queb<sup>e</sup> — & the Result was to Retreat to Point. d. Shambo, for they had not 1000 Effective men att. Queb<sup>e</sup> their Camps being att Such a Distance from each Other, that it was Impossible to Collect any Number of men together

th  
20 We have this Day orders to go to Montreal to have the Small pox, but as Soon as we Had Orders to have the Small pox the Officers & men were so eager to get it, that many of them would not wait till we got to Montreal, but Stole the Infection, & Innoculated each other.  
we set off this afternoon for Montreal in Battoes, & Sailed 15 miles.

th  
21. Clear & very cold for the Season we set off early for Montreal. y<sup>e</sup> wind a Head. Something of a Current. this is y<sup>e</sup> River St<sup>l</sup> Laurence From Sorell to Montreal which is very Pleasant Setled thick on both Sides, y<sup>e</sup> women are a Washing in this river like the Other we pass Several very fine mass, — Houses. we go now Some on the land the rest are in the Battoes, we meet two of the Cont<sup>l</sup>. Congress which Inform us of very bad news, that there was a Small Fort call'd the Cedars about 30 miles Above Montr<sup>l</sup>. they tell us it is taken by the Enemy, & all the men, & that Major Shearbon<sup>1</sup> went out with a party & they were all tak'n they likewise said that it was talked of at Montreal that Day at 12 o Clock, that y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants Intended to take arms that Night & Conquer our People they advise us to march Into town that Night as we were 15 miles off at Sun Down. the men are very much Fatigued. but As the case was Repre-

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Sherburn, of Rhode Island, was commissioned a Major in General Paterson's Regiment (15th Continental Infantry) 1 January, 1776, taken prisoner at The Cedars, 20 May, made Major of the 1st Rhode Island Regiment 1 January, 1777, and Colonel of one of the additional Continental Regiments 12 January, 1777 (Heitman; Lossing's First Book of the Revolution, i. 208; T. Eggleston, Life of John Paterson, 1898, p. 87.)

sented to us In such a bad Situation, we exerted ourselves & went in, we arrived about 9, o'Clock at Night, very Dry & Cold for the season, the ground hard, which lamed some of y<sup>e</sup> men Montreal was a much bigger City than I had any Idea of. we Remain'd in Montreal 2 Days. with very few men, and as the Enemy had taken Maj<sup>r</sup>. Shearbon with his party, & got the fort att the Cedars, we expected, an Attack every Hour.

th  
21.

A party of men arrive from Sorell Intending to go & retake the fort at. the Cedars.

th  
22.

the party Set off this Morning, under the Command of Col<sup>o</sup>. D. Haas,<sup>1</sup> & L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Williams. they being 600, in N<sup>o</sup> Went as far as Lasheene,<sup>2</sup> 6 miles from Montreal, there they tarry that Nigt

th  
23.

this morning set of with the addition of 300, more, under the command of Gen<sup>l</sup>. Arnold to go to the Cedars, they Came up to the enemy About Sun Sett the enemy on one Side of the River & they y<sup>e</sup> Other, with our Prisoners th<sup>t</sup> they took, in y<sup>e</sup> evening they sent a flagg over to the Gen<sup>l</sup> with proposals of exchanging Prisoners, as we took a Number of Prisoners att S<sup>t</sup>. Johns. the Enemy likewise told them that if they Pursued their measures, they would Destroy every one of our men that they had Prisoners att y<sup>e</sup> Cedars The Gen<sup>l</sup>. Would not comply with it. the enemy sent another flagg at 12 o'Clock y<sup>e</sup> Same Night, & Still said that they Would Destroy our Prisoners if we pursu'd them. then Gen<sup>l</sup>. Arnold settled the Cartel with them to exchange Prisoners & leave 4 Capt<sup>s</sup>. with them, as Hostiges but they soon Broke the Cartel in firing upon our men. the same Cartel was afterwards Carried to Congress but they Comply'd not with it. because the enemy fired upon our men after y<sup>e</sup> Cartel was made, & broke it. but the Cartel was Astonishing

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<sup>1</sup> John Philip De Haas of Pennsylvania had been appointed Colonel of the First Battalion of Pennsylvania Regulars 22 January, 1776, and the following year was made a Brigadier-General of the Continental Army. He retired to Philadelphia in 1779 and rendered no subsequent service. He died 3 June, 1786 (Heitman; Force's American Archives, Fourth Series, iv. 785, Fifth Series, ii. 615).

<sup>2</sup> Lachine.

to me, & had I have had an own Brother there, I should have been for Pursuing them, & taking them it was in the Gen<sup>l</sup>'s Power to have taken them, & I Dont think that they Durst to have killed a Prisoner all to besaid of it is the fortune of War.

th  
24.  
—

Clear & Pleaseant but very Cold for y<sup>e</sup> season. Nothing Remarkable to Day.

th  
25  
—

Our Regiment are Still in Montreal In a very Poor Situation, our Officers & men are Breaking out with the Small Pox, & no other troops in the City but ours, & expecting every Night to be Attack'd I went the rounds almost every Night for a week, 6 to. 1. of our Number is in y<sup>e</sup> City almost all against us & very Malicious but we Keep good Guard, & are Determin'd that if they Do rise, we will give them Good battle.

th  
26.  
—

Nothing extraord<sup>y</sup> to Day.

th  
27.  
—

Gen<sup>l</sup>. Arnold arrives from the Cedars brings news that there is a Cartel Consented to. by both Parties, & have exchang'd Prisoners.

th  
28.  
—

this Morning Clear & Pleaseant, a Number of our Troops Return from the Cedars, we have this Day Orders to Go to St. Johns, to have, & Recruit of the small pox. Col<sup>o</sup> Greateon Marches this Day with part of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. for St. Johns. y<sup>e</sup> reason of the Whole Reg<sup>t</sup>'s not going to day is for want of Battoes. the Gen<sup>l</sup> sends to me to Night about 11 o'Clock that he had had Information by friends that the Inhabitants Intended to take us that Night, likewise said to me. to do the best I could. I accordingly went & awoke all the Soldiers, & made them Dress themselves & Load their Guns Lying on their arms to be ready Instantly. I told them further if they Did take us, it should not be for Nothing I then went the rounds, & to the Guards Doubled the Centinels, giving them orders to fire upon any Person that Did not give a good account of himself.

th  
29.  
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This morning Clear & Pleaseant but Cold, & Dry for the season. Col<sup>o</sup> Stark with Col<sup>o</sup> Read Arrive here from St. Johns with part of their Regiments the Gen<sup>l</sup>. Orders that the

Remainder of Col. Greatons Reg<sup>t</sup>. go Immediately to St. Johns, & that I must tarry for he could not spare me, I send the Reg<sup>t</sup>. off as soon as I can, an express arrive from Shambly to Montreal, & Informs us that Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thomas Died last evening.

th  
30.

The Gen<sup>l</sup> orders me this morning to go to Shambly, as soon as I got to Shambly I met Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sullivan,<sup>1</sup> to my great Joy, & as I talked with the Gen<sup>l</sup>. he gave me orders not, to go to St. Johns. to tarry, only to get Col<sup>o</sup> Greaton, with the rest of the officers, that were fit for Duty, & push for Sorell as Quick as Possible.

th  
31.

Our Reg<sup>t</sup> is now at the worst with y<sup>e</sup> S. Pox, No more well than enough, to tend y<sup>e</sup> Sick. Col<sup>o</sup> Greaton with my self went only with each of us a waiter, we set off for Sorell, go to Shambly & overtake Col<sup>o</sup> Stark,<sup>2</sup> with part of his Reg<sup>t</sup> we are in Company together on the way to Sorell we lodge this Night, about 10 miles below Shambly.

June  
th  
1<sup>st</sup>

Fair this morning Clear & Pleaseant fair wind, & we set sail for Sorell — Arrive at Sorell 3, o'Clock, Just as we arrive, Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thomson<sup>3</sup> was in readiness to march. to the 3 Rivers with 700 men to meet the enemy, also he was to Join 700 men more att St. Fransway's,<sup>4</sup> & Proceed to the 3 Rivers, which is about 90 miles this side of Quebec, as they said, there was 4. or 500. of Regulars which had there been no more our Troops would have taken them with ease. But our troops were mislead by a Pilot after they landed, & went from their Battoes which much Disappointed them, for as they Intended to have took the enemy under Surprise, in the Night, they were keep marching in a Swamp till after Sun-rise, all very unlucky for us, for y<sup>e</sup> Night before there

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. John Sullivan of New Hampshire, then a Brigadier-General in the Continental Army.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. John Stark of New Hampshire was at this time Colonel of the 5th Continental Infantry.

<sup>3</sup> William Thompson had been Colonel of the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, and was made Brigadier-General of the Continental Infantry 1 March, 1776. He was taken prisoner 8 June, 1776, and exchanged 25 October, 1780. He died 3 September, 1781 (Heitman).

<sup>4</sup> The reference is probably to St. François.



came 6, or 8 Vessels up as far as, 3, Rivers, and the Instant our People came in Sight, they landed their men from the Shipping, which made their Numbers, vastly Superior to ours, there was a Shot or two on each Side, & our People Retreated, but the Retreat, was so bad, their, being under Such bad Circumstances, that the enemy took Gen<sup>l</sup> Thomson, with about 120 more.

- th  
2d. This morning fair and Clear, Nothing Remarkable to Day.
- th  
3d. Cold & Dry nothing Remarkable to Day.
- th  
4. Clear & Pleasant, we hear that the Soldiers will be in to morrow from 3 Rivrs
- th  
5 the Battoes arrive that went for 3 Rivers the Soldiers march by land, N. remark<sup>le</sup>
- th  
6. they arrive about 6 miles from Sorell. Where we send the Battoes after them bring them to sorell.
- th  
7. this morning clear & Pleasant, we begin to fortify with a great Deal of expedition.
- th  
8. this Day 500 men are ordered upon Fatigue, with the Great-est expedition.
- th  
9. 500 men this Day Fortifying at Sorell
- th  
10. Still go on fortifying.
- th  
11 We have this Day news the enemy are a going to Montreal by us & not attack us, the Gen<sup>l</sup> this Night calls a Council of war of all the field Officers there is upon y<sup>e</sup> Ground. the Chief of the Counsil were for Retreating, I among the Small Number for Staying.
- th  
12. this morning left the Works att Sorell, & Retreated to Shambly. Bringing all Stores, & left nothing.
- th  
13 We move our Stores from Shambly to St<sup>l</sup>. Johns, as fast as Possible. the Rapids exceeding bad to get the Battoes over, & caus'd much work with Difficulty to do it.

- th  
14. Reported that the Enemy are very nigh us, the Gen<sup>l</sup>. sends me this morning to a Place called Centras, half way, Between Shambly, & S<sup>t</sup>. Johns, with Strict orders that no Officer or man should pass, till all the Artillery Store & Baggage were got forward
- th  
15. this morning the Rear march from Shambly with all their baggage, to Centras. from there I Bring the rear to S<sup>t</sup> Johns.
- th  
16. this Day we send our Sick & Artillery Stores To the Isle of Mott.
- th  
17. We have this morning a Council of war the Council Determines to Retreat to the Isle of Noix<sup>1</sup> with all Stores, & from thence to Crown Point as Quick as possible. we tarry to the Isle of Noix till we can get our Sick to Crown Point, & our Artillery Stores to the Isle of Mott.
- th  
18. our Boats are not Returned from C. Point
- th  
19. Boats not Returnd yet.
- th  
20. Some Part of our boats Return, for more Stores.
- th  
21. Our Boats Do not arrive.
- th  
22. this Morning Clear & Pleaseant, about 3, o'Clock there set off. 7. Officers 4 Privates to go about half a mild across the lake to get some Beer, they went without arms, & entered the House Close to the lake. but there was Indians, lay In Ambush, & rose upon them, Killed 4 & Scalped them they also took the rest. the Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sent a Party over as Quick as Possible, but the Indians were gone our People Brought over back again, the Dead men that were Scalped 2 officers, & 2 Privates. Such a Sight I never beheld with my eyes as to see men Scalped.
- th  
23. this Day it is Reported that there was 2 boats coming from the Isle of Mott to the Isle of Noix, they went on shore about 9 miles from the Isle of Noix after Some Necessaries,

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<sup>1</sup> Isle Aux Noix, in the Sorel.

the Indians came upon them out of the woods, killed & took, about one half of them, the rest got. Into a boat & pushed for the Isle of Mott the other Boat Floated alone, & came Down to the Isle of Noix, with one Dead man in it.

th  
24.

the talk this morning is that we shall not get off. to Day. our boats are not come, & the enemy on both sides of us.

th  
25.

We Still Remain, & the Boats do not Return.

th  
26

We remain under the same Circumstances.

th  
27

Our Boats appear in sight, & come, we Load our baggage & their is not boats Enough to take us all in. 12 Hundred of us, are Obliged to march by land. We set off. att 12, o'Clock, under the Commd. of Col<sup>o</sup> Wayn,<sup>1</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Greation in front Maj<sup>r</sup> Morgan in the Center, Col<sup>o</sup> Porter & myself, brought up the Rear, We all expect, that the enemy have laid in wait for us, we have 1200 the best of Troops, & are Determined if we meet with them, to cut them off. Root, & Branch, we crost the river in Battoes & marched about 5 miles then we come to where the men was killed a Day or two before, we there burn, 2 Dwelling Houses, 1 Saw mill, & one Grist Mill. Which belonged to a torey, where the men were Killed, & Scalpt, as I wish every torey's house was burn'd upon y<sup>e</sup> Continent he being gone off to the enemy we could not catch him, we had orders to take y<sup>e</sup> Cattle with us, my bringing up the Rear Guard, we Drove the Cattle on side of the lake, I went in among the Cattle with a Hatchet & Knocked Down 10 of them, & Stuck them, in less than 10, Minutes the men hove them into the Battoes. — 2 Cows, & calves, I put on board alive. We then Pursued our march, with our front flank, & Rear Guards, about 6 miles farther, worse travilling men never travailled, it rains exceeding hard, & Night comes on, which makes it very Dark, we are Alarm'd about 11, o'Clock att Night, but soon find it is only some of our flank guard, that had got lost, in the woods

th  
28

We rise very early this morning, & go Down to our Battoes. Dress the Beef that we had Killed y<sup>e</sup> Day before — Cooked

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. Anthony Wayne, at this time Colonel of the 4th Pennsylvania Battalion.



some of it, & eat. it is the first fresh beef that we have eat this 2. Months Our Boats arrives from the Isle of Mott to us about 11, o Clock, then we went into y<sup>e</sup> Battoes & set off for Point, aufare, about 8 miles from the Isle of mott, we came to Point Aufare, burned a large tore House took in a number of our troops, & went to the Isle of mott.

th  
29.

We load all our Battoes, with Artillery Stores & Provisions, sett out about 3, o Clock with 100 battoes, in 4 Divisions, went about 12 miles that afternoon we past the vessels that had the Artillery Stores Provisions &c. before Night.

th  
30

We set off again early this morning for Crownt-Point, & go abot 20 miles where there is a number of families lives. Friends to us we there tarry for the Vessels to come up. but they Do not heave in Sight. orders, from the Gen<sup>l</sup> Just before Night. for me with Col<sup>o</sup> McField to take 500, men. go Down & bring up the Vessels, we go Down in the Night, & Come up with one of them, but it was very Dark, & she had like to fired upon us thinking it was her enemy. We went on Shore upon one of the Islands & tarry all Night.

July  
th  
1st.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan with the army set off for Crown Point from Gilliland's Creeck. we tarried with the Vessels, & came that Night up to Split Rock where there were a Number of the Inhabitants. Durst not tarry for fear of Indians, & came with us to C. Point. we make a tarry here this Night below Split rock

th  
2d.

this morning we rise by times, & put 70 Head of Cattle on board of the battoes & Vessels, we then set out for Crown. Point being a Calm we have to toe the Vessels which makes it late before we get to Crown Point. I have new arrived att Crown Point. there never was a grander Retreat made, than what we made from Sorell, to Crown Point, all the way, for I brought up the rear myself all the way, & know very well, therefore you may hear what Stories you will it is the truth what I tell you.

but Canada has been a very unfortunate Place for Generals. Gen<sup>l</sup> Thomas Died with the small Pox, Gen<sup>l</sup> Thomson Taken Prisoner, Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan has Resign'd & Gone from us, which I am very sorry for. Our troops are now Chiefly at Ticon-

deroga, fortifying that, & on an Hill Close by. A very Good Place, some part of our Troops are att Crown Point we have 4. arm'd Vessels upon the lake, we have 4 Gundeloes built, & 4 more building for which I think we shall Command the lake without any Difficulty, each Gundelow, Carries 4 Guns. our Army Is now about 4000. Strong our Sick are moved to fort George. I understand there is a large Numbr. of troops a Coming, but I am Sorry there is any troops a Coming before our times are out. that they might take our Places. I shall send you the Remainder of the Journal as soon as I have opportunity. the Particulars, concerning the retreat from Quebec, to Sorell, I will send you in the next Journal, so that you may know it is not so bad as you have heard

*Joseph Be*

















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